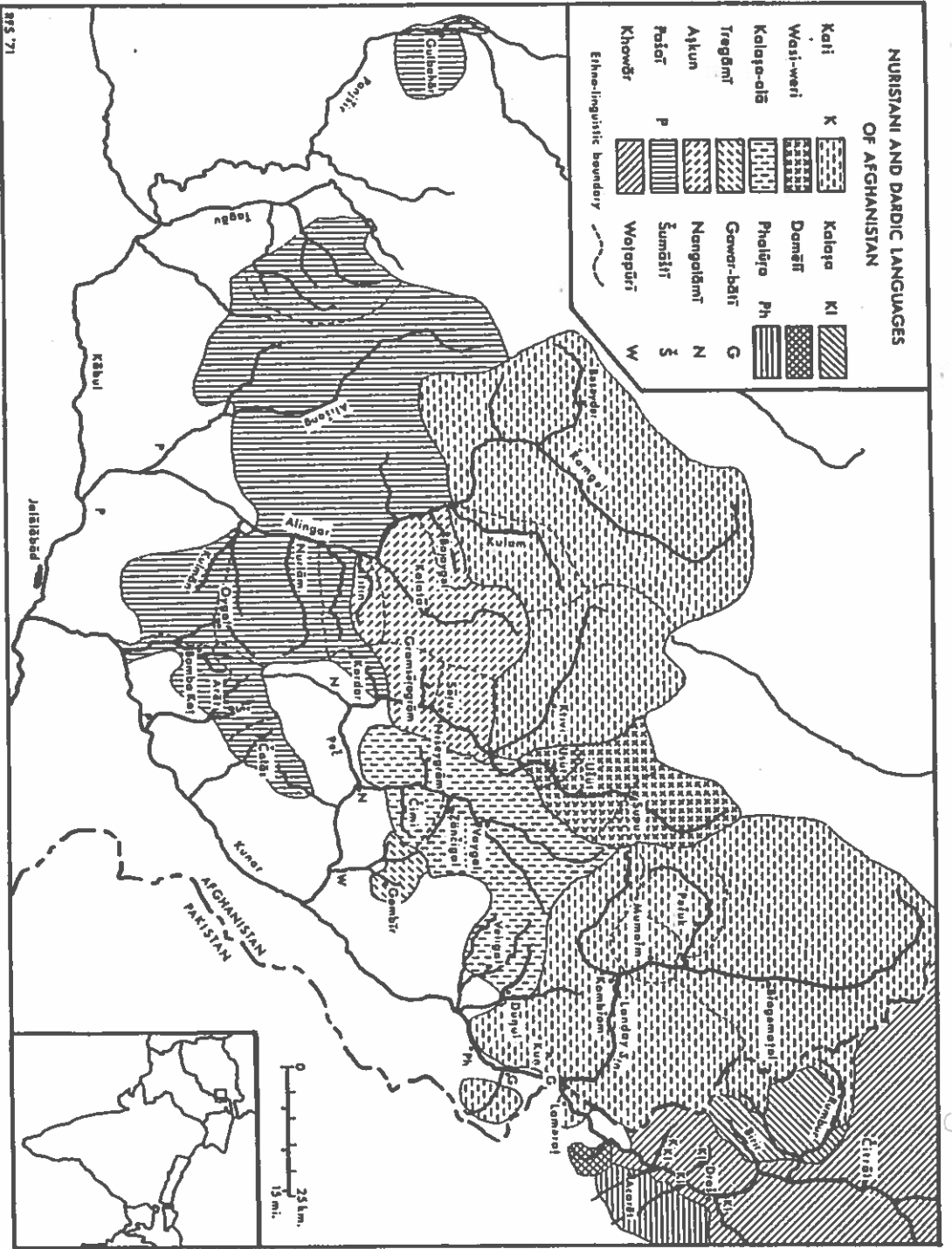
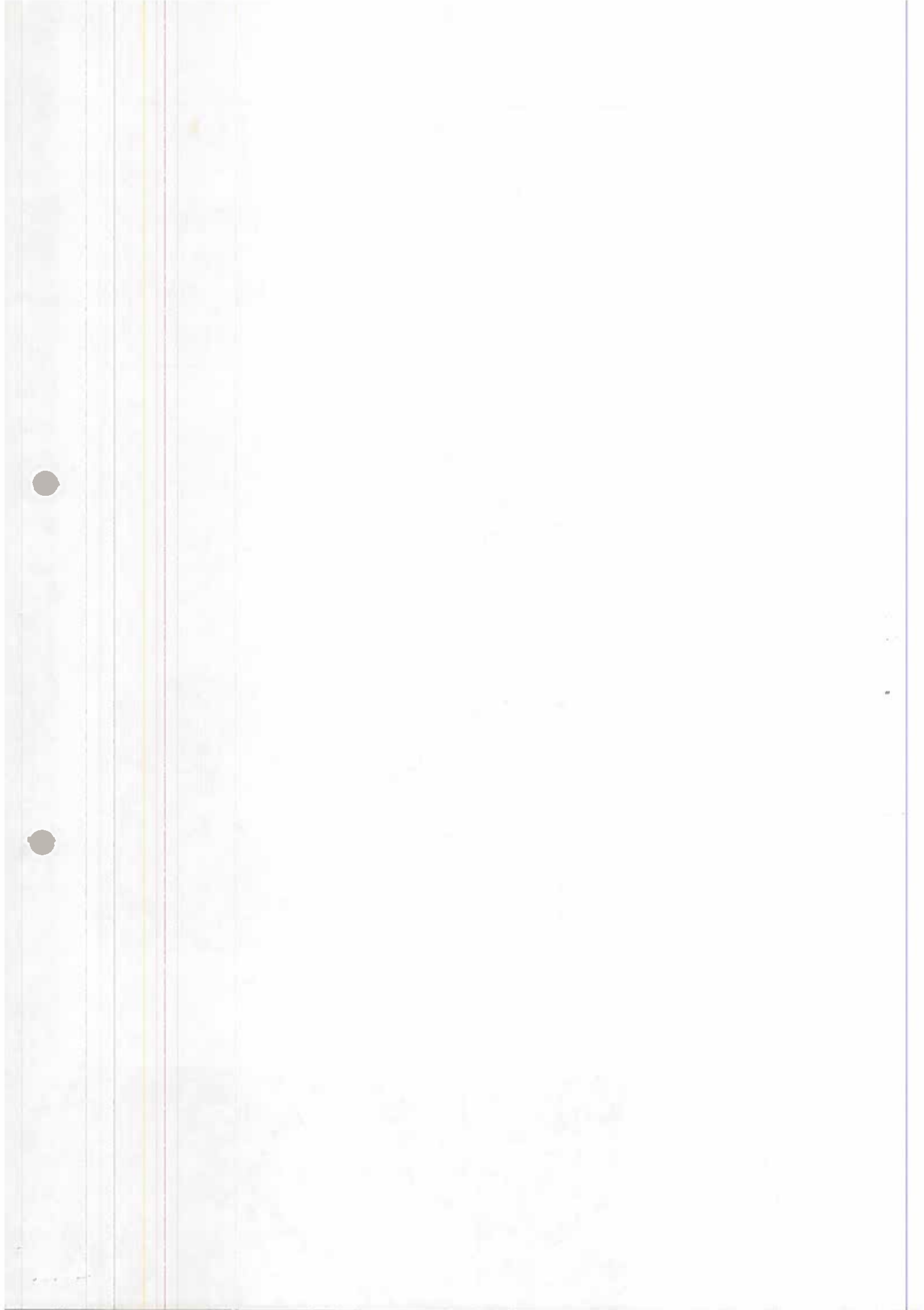


Survey (?)



STRAND: Notes on the Nuristani and Dardic Languages

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Notes on the Kuristani
and Dardic
Languages

Shan. lang.
not known
Lang. of
Dardic lang.
not known
Lang.

1973

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NOTES ON THE NŪRISTĀNĪ AND DARDIC LANGUAGES

RICHARD F. STRAND

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4

Map
Included
Now

Recent articles by Voegelin and Voegelin (1965) and Kachru (1969) presented erroneous listings of the so-called "Dardic" languages. These listings were based on Grierson's now outdated classification, and they did not reflect the clear division between the Nūristānī (Kāfir) languages, which constitute a separate branch of Indo-Iranian, and the other Dardic languages, which are Indo-Aryan, as stated by Morgenstierne (1961). The present article points out the errors in the Voegelins' and Kachru's lists and updates Morgenstierne's scheme in the light of recent field research in the Hindu-Kush region of Afghanistan.

RECENTLY TWO ARTICLES APPEARED which surveyed the so-called Dardic languages (Voegelin & Voegelin 1965, Kachru 1969). On the basis of my field research in Afghanistan I have noted numerous errors in these survey articles. In the present article I shall draw attention to a more accurate version of linguistic distributions in the Dardic area.¹

The most recent authoritative classification of Dardic languages was presented by Morgenstierne (1961).² This classification was apparently unknown to the Voegelins and Kachru. Although limitations of space did not allow Morgenstierne to present the full linguistic evidence for his classification, his pre-eminence in the study of languages of the Indo-Iranian frontier area would lead us to accept his classification as the most

accurate, if still tentative, one produced so far. In particular, it supersedes Grierson's 1919 classification, upon which the Voegelins and Kachru base their surveys.

The important points of Morgenstierne's classification are (1) that there is a clear distinction between the Nūristānī (Kāfir) languages and the rest, and (2) that there is no linguistic justification for placing the remaining non-Nūristānī languages in a single "Dardic" group. Regarding the first point Morgenstierne says, after presenting some of the major distinguishing features of the Nūristānī group:

We are, therefore, entitled to posit the existence of a third branch of [Indo-Ir]anian, agreeing generally with [Indo-Ir]anian, but being situated on the Ir side of some of the isoglosses which, taken as a whole, constitute the borderline between IA and Ir. This branch [Nūristānī] had also retained archaisms of its own, and must have separated from the others at a very early date. (1961: 139)

On the second point Morgenstierne states:

I propose the term *Nūristānī* as a replacement for Morgenstierne's "Kāfir" (Morgenstierne 1932: 63, fn. 2). These languages are spoken almost entirely within the confines of the area of northeastern Afghanistan known as Nūristān (formerly Kāfiristān), and the term *Nūristānī* is universally applied in Afghanistan, by natives of Nūristān as well as by outsiders, to denote the languages and peoples of Nūristān. On the other hand, there is no word more insulting or provocative to the devoutly Muslim Nūristānīs than *kāfir* ('infidel'), and if for no reason other than courtesy, the appellation "Kāfir" must not be used in reference to these people or their languages.

Send note
to Dayton
& Wagner
about this to
correct their
error.

Ency. of Islam

I resided in Afghanistan for twenty-seven months during 1967-69, gathering material for a grammar and vocabulary of the Kamviri dialect of Kati. Most of my work was carried out in the village of Kōmbfom (Kōmbfom mdeš), Kunarhā Province, in eastern Nūristān. My research was partially supported by grants from the Far East Asia Program of Cornell University and from Teachers College, Columbia University.

I am indebted to Gerald D. Kelley for his comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

Shahidullah (1964) bases his classification on Morgenstierne's scheme; he uses "Dardic" for Morgenstierne's "Kāfir" (denoted here as "Nūristānī"), and "Northern Group" for Morgenstierne's "Dardic" (Shahidullah 1964: 42). Natus's article (1963), cited by both Kachru (1969: 287) and the Voegelins (1965: 285), does appear to warrant consideration as an authoritative

The [non-Nūristānī] languages . . . contain absolutely no features which cannot be derived from Old IA. . . There is not a single common feature distinguishing Dardic, as a whole, from the rest of the IA languages . . . Dardic is simply a convenient term to denote a bundle of aberrant IA hill languages, which in their relative isolation . . . have been in a varying degree sheltered against the expanding influences of IA Midland (*Madhyadeśa*) innovations, being left free to develop on their own. (1961: 139)

In keeping with these two points, I shall use NŪRISTĀNĪ to designate the "third branch" of Indo-Iranian, which includes the languages Kati, Wasiweri, Aṣkun, Kalaṣa-alā, and Tregāmī (if the latter is indeed a separate language rather than a dialect of Kalaṣa-alā),⁴ and I shall use DARDIC to designate, in an areal rather than a phylogenetic sense, the group of "aberrant" northwest Indo-Aryan "hill languages."

Since the publication of Morgenstierne's classification a few investigators have made further observations on the distribution of dialects in and around Nūristān. New data on Wasiweri and Paṣai come from the field observations of Georg Büddruss and R. Lincoln Keiser, respectively. Data on the major valley of eastern Nūristān, from the village of Bṛagāmaṭol (Bargromatal, Barge Matāl) to the Kunar River, are based on my own first-hand knowledge of the area, while data on other parts of Nūristān are based on the observations of my native inform-

⁴ Throughout this paper I employ native names for languages and dialects when such names are known to me. Thus I use *Kalaṣa-alā* instead of "Waigalt" and *Wasiweri* instead of "Prasun." I follow the nomenclature established by other field investigators in cases in which I am unfamiliar with native usage (e.g., Tregāmī), or in cases in which no native name exists to cover all dialects of the language (e.g., "Kati," "Aṣkun").

⁵ In particular, I am indebted to Qāzi Ghulām Ullāh of Pīṭyāl and Mohammad Auyār of Kōmbfōm for information on the situation regarding Kamviri in Pakistan and the area east of the Kunar River. Mohammad Alam Nūristānī of Nīseygrām kindly supplied me with information on Kalaṣa-alā. Data on the Aṣkun area were obtained in Kōmbfōm from Mahmūd Asen, a native of Sīpa. In Kabul I worked briefly with a mulāh from Līnā in Bāngāl, who provided me with information on the linguistic situation in western Nūristān.

ants.⁵ This recent information is summarized here (see Map 1 on p. 301).⁶

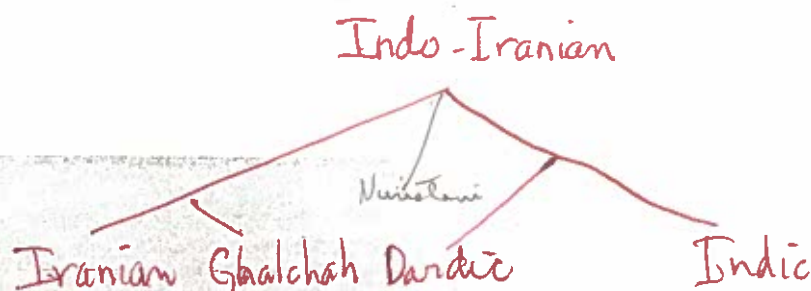
Kati (Baṣgālī) has three major dialects: Katāviri, Kamviri, and Munviri. Katāviri is spoken by members of the Katā tribe.⁷ It is divided into two major subdialects: Western Katāviri and Eastern Katāviri. Western Katāviri is further subdivided into the dialects of Bāngāl, Kulām, Kīṭvi (Kantivo), and Pōruk (Papuruk), which correspond to geographic and subtribal divisions in the area. The differentiating characteristics of these dialects have yet to be analyzed. Katā inhabitants of the westernmost valleys of Nūristān, in the environs of Kanēgal and Baṣāydar, have been Persian-speaking since they were subjugated for a generation by people from Panjshīr shortly after the Afghan conquest of Kāfiristān (Nūristān) in 1896. Eastern Katāviri is spoken in Bṛagāmaṭol and other villages in the upper Landay Sin (Baṣgal) basin (except for the Pōruk

⁶ Names of dialects and places are given in a transcription which represents the phonemic system of the local dialect, when known. Names from eastern Nūristān are given in the Kamviri dialect, with the exception of *Bṛagāmaṭol*, which is Eastern Katāviri, and *Pōruk*, which is Western Katāviri. The (taxonomic) phonemes of Kamviri are listed here for reference:

consonants:	vowels:
p t k	i ū u
b d g	e ə o
c ɕ ɟ	a
j ɟ ɟ	ɪ ʊ ʊ
s ʃ ʂ	ē ō
z ʒ ʒ	ā
mn ɳ ɳ	
l r ʃ	nasalization: ~
v y	stress: '

To these are added the recently adopted "Islamic" phonemes /x ɣ q h ʔ/, which are used to a varying extent by different speakers. Katāviri appears to lack z ʒ ʒ (but note that j is phonetically [z] in most Katāviri dialects). My incomplete data on the Sīpa dialect of Aṣkun indicate that its phonemic inventory is that of the above list minus ū ʊ ʊ, and with ʔ for ʃ.

⁷ Islamicization has been so complete in western Nūristān that the name *Katā*, which evokes memories of a pagan past, has become synonymous with *Shīr* and is no longer used by the people of Bāngāl and Kulām to refer to themselves. They call themselves simply Nūristānī or, if pressed, *Kāfiristānī*. *Katā* is still used, however, in the vicinity of eastern Nūristān, where it is still spoken.



1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem of the existence of solutions of the system of equations (1) and (2) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β . It is shown that for arbitrary values of α and β the system of equations (1) and (2) has solutions in the class of functions C^1 if and only if the conditions (3) and (4) are satisfied.

2. In the second part of the paper the problem of the existence of solutions of the system of equations (1) and (2) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β is solved. It is shown that for arbitrary values of α and β the system of equations (1) and (2) has solutions in the class of functions C^1 if and only if the conditions (3) and (4) are satisfied.

3. In the third part of the paper the problem of the existence of solutions of the system of equations (1) and (2) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β is solved. It is shown that for arbitrary values of α and β the system of equations (1) and (2) has solutions in the class of functions C^1 if and only if the conditions (3) and (4) are satisfied.

4. In the fourth part of the paper the problem of the existence of solutions of the system of equations (1) and (2) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β is solved. It is shown that for arbitrary values of α and β the system of equations (1) and (2) has solutions in the class of functions C^1 if and only if the conditions (3) and (4) are satisfied.

5. In the fifth part of the paper the problem of the existence of solutions of the system of equations (1) and (2) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β is solved. It is shown that for arbitrary values of α and β the system of equations (1) and (2) has solutions in the class of functions C^1 if and only if the conditions (3) and (4) are satisfied.

6. In the sixth part of the paper the problem of the existence of solutions of the system of equations (1) and (2) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β is solved. It is shown that for arbitrary values of α and β the system of equations (1) and (2) has solutions in the class of functions C^1 if and only if the conditions (3) and (4) are satisfied.

7. In the seventh part of the paper the problem of the existence of solutions of the system of equations (1) and (2) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β is solved. It is shown that for arbitrary values of α and β the system of equations (1) and (2) has solutions in the class of functions C^1 if and only if the conditions (3) and (4) are satisfied.

8. In the eighth part of the paper the problem of the existence of solutions of the system of equations (1) and (2) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β is solved. It is shown that for arbitrary values of α and β the system of equations (1) and (2) has solutions in the class of functions C^1 if and only if the conditions (3) and (4) are satisfied.

9. In the ninth part of the paper the problem of the existence of solutions of the system of equations (1) and (2) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β is solved. It is shown that for arbitrary values of α and β the system of equations (1) and (2) has solutions in the class of functions C^1 if and only if the conditions (3) and (4) are satisfied.

10. In the tenth part of the paper the problem of the existence of solutions of the system of equations (1) and (2) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β is solved. It is shown that for arbitrary values of α and β the system of equations (1) and (2) has solutions in the class of functions C^1 if and only if the conditions (3) and (4) are satisfied.

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valley) and in a few enclaves close to the Afghan border in Čitrāl State, Pakistan. It appears to have little dialect variation. A major isogloss separating Eastern and Western Katāviri demarcates the distribution of present tense morphs: Western Katāviri has forms in *-nu-*, while Eastern Katāviri has forms in *-lu-*.⁹

Kamviri is spoken in Kōmbfōm (Kāmdēš) and other villages by approximately four thousand members of the Kom tribe, and by members of the Kšto tribe inhabiting the town of Kštořm (Kuštoz). Kšto tribesmen also inhabit the village of Dūngul (Daren), but there they speak Kalāša-alā (see below). The Kom and their client Jaži tribesmen who inhabit the settlements of Lamēroř (Langorbats) and Badrōyal on the (Čitrāl (Kunar) River across the Afghan frontier in Pakistan speak a somewhat divergent dialect of Kamviri called Lamēřiviri. Otherwise Kamviri is fairly uniform, with only slight regional and social variations. The few Kom families controlling the area along the right bank of the Kunar River from the settlements of Pāžigir (Pašingar), Gaņūr, and Čūnūk (Candak) have assimilated with the surrounding Afghans and speak Pashto. Across the Kunar the uplands drained by the Naři (Naray) Valley are owned by Kom tribesmen who have intermingled with Gujars and Mašwanay Pakhtuns; these Kom have to a large extent adopted Gujarī and Pashto as their first languages.

Several isoglosses separate Kamviri from Katāviri. Some phonological differences that I have noted include: (1) more generalized voicing assimilations in Kamviri; (a) in intervocalic position the following Katāviri/Kamviri correspondences exist:⁹ /d/ (phonetically [r] intervocalically) *ařól/ařól* 'cliff', *k/p, ǝ* *kakók/kayók* 'hen', *ik/i* 'that', *s/z* *ařá/ařá* 'is', *š/z* *kaří/kařé* 'bushel', *ř/z* *ařá (ř)/ařá* 'bull'; (b) after nasals voiceless consonants in Katāviri correspond to voiced consonants in Kamviri: *manč/mančř* 'man', *amšč (P)/amšč* 'they themselves', *damčól/damčól* 'energetic'; (2) loss of semivowels in certain positions in Kamviri; specifically, (a) *v* and *y* are lost in final position, with compensatory lengthening: *div/dá* 'wood', *řaláy/řalá* 'duck'; (b) *aw* is reduced to *ā*: *řavarā (ř)/řā* 'flat', *anāwa (ř)/anā*

⁹ Kamviri agrees with Western Katāviri in having present tense forms in *-nu-*.

⁹ In the following pairs Katāviri forms are given first. The Katāviri forms are from Eastern Katāviri except those noted from Mangāl (ř) and Póřuk (P).

'ghae'. (2) reduction of unstressed *a* to *ə* (i after nasals) or *ɐ* in certain words in Katāviri: *pančepamāč* 'between', *řilā/řalā* 'cold', *řilč/řilč* 'seventeen'.

Mumviri appears to be a transitional dialect between Kamviri and Katāviri. It is spoken in the villages of Mumóřm (Mandagal, Bagalgrom), Mangāl, and Saskū by the Mumó, a tribe that inhabits the central Landay Sin basin between the Kom and Kató tribes. Characteristics that distinguish Mumviri from Kamviri and Katāviri have not been systematically noted.

Wasi-weri (Prasun, Pārūnī, Veron) has recently been investigated by Georg Buddruss, who has kindly made the following information available to me. There are three dialects of Wasi-weri. The Upper dialect is spoken in the village of řupu (Iřivi, Shtevgrom), the Central dialect is spoken in the villages of Sēč (Saici, Pronz, Poruns), Ūčū (Dēwa, Diogrom), Uřūt (Kuřtaki), and Zumū (Cucum, Satsumgrom), and the Lower dialect is spoken in the village of Uřūt (Pařki).

Kalāša-alā (Waigali, Wai-alā; cf. Kamviri *kal-řiviri*), not to be confused with Kalāša of Čitrāl, is the language of the Kalāša people who live mainly in the Wāygal Valley and environs. The local name of this area is Kalāřum. Kalāša-alā is spoken in two major dialects, corresponding to the ethnic division between the Varjan, who inhabit the villages of Vaygal (Waigal), Žōnčigal (Arans), Jāmač (Jamamesh), and Ameřdeř (Amešos) in the upper Wāygal Valley, and the Čima-Niřey, who live in Niřeygrām, Kegal, Akun, and Mūldeř (the latter three forming the district of Čimi) in the lower valley (Nūristānī 1969). The Varjan dialect extends eastward to the Veligal Valley and the villages of Čukl, Maret, and Dūngul, and descendants of former Kalāša-alā-speaking inhabitants still reside in the Kom village of Kuņ (Kotyā). Within the two major dialects there is further dialect variation from village to village (cf. Morgenstierne 1954).

The appellation Kalāša appears among other ethnic groups in addition to the Kalāša of Kalāřum. Informants from Sāřu and Kordar claimed that they were Kalāša, and although I was not able to verify these claims, I was told by a Kom informant¹⁰ that the Kalāša "are the same tribe" as the people of Sāřu and Kordar. The Kalāř of Čitrāl have a tradition that they spent some time in the Wāygal Valley before entering Čitrāl

¹⁰ Mohammīad Azam of Kuņ.

Waigali
2 dialects

(Morgenstierne 1965: 189, Siiger 1956: 31), and it is tempting to speculate that *Kalaša* originally designated a group of diverse tribes living in what is now south-central Nūristān.

Keiser (personal communication) spent a brief period in the village of Kaṭār in Tregām. His informants reported that there is a slight difference between the Tregāmī dialect spoken in Kaṭār and the Tregāmī dialect of the neighboring village of Gambīr. M. A. Nūristānī (personal communication) states that the inhabitants of Tregām are ethnically distinct from the *Kalaša*. However, we still lack sufficient linguistic material to establish definitely the position of Tregāmī (Gambīrī) vis-à-vis *Kalaša-alā* (v. Morgenstierne 1952: 122 et seq., Morgenstierne 1954: 158-59, Buddruss 1960: 8).

Aškun (Ashkun) is spoken in several dialects in southwestern Nūristān. The main body of the Aškūru tribe inhabits the Aškūgāl (Kolātā, Ma-ḡegāl) Valley, which drains southwestward into the Alingar River. These people speak a dialect which differs from that of their neighbors in the Titin Valley to the south (cf. Morgenstierne 1929). The inhabitants of the Bajaygāl Valley further up the Alingar are reported to speak a third dialect. Across a mountain ridge to the east of the Aškūru two tribal groups, each with its own dialect, center on the villages of Sōru (Wāmā) and Gramsōḡagrām (Aḡanu) off the Peč River.

Buddruss also reports (personal communication) that he has gathered data on the language spoken in Grangal (local name Gōḡal) in the Digal Valley. Morgenstierne's Nangalāmī (Ningalāmī) informant claimed that the dialects of Nangalām and Grangal were the same (Morgenstierne 1950: 58), and Buddruss's Grangalī data are essentially identical with Morgenstierne's Nangalāmī materials (Morgenstierne 1950: 59 ff.).

Morgenstierne's (1967) observations on the groupings of some eastern Paṣai dialects have been corroborated by Keiser (personal communication; see now Keiser 1971) during his recent anthropological investigations in the Paṣai-speaking village of Oygal (Waygal, Wegal) in the upper Darra-i Nūr area. Morgenstierne notes that among his North-Eastern Group the dialects of the villages of Arēt, Kaplak, and Kordar form a subgroup as against the dialects of the villages of Čalās (Chilas) and Kuṟangal (1967: 26). According to Keiser the villages of Kaplak, Šemul, Arēt,

Šumāšt (except for one section where speakers of Šumāštī reside), and Kordar belong to the Čugani tribe (cf. Tanner 1881 and *Kalaša-alā čukofē*, Aškun *čūārī* 'man from Kordar'), while Čalās and Kuṟangal are separate. It would appear from this that we could posit a Čugani dialect and a Čalās-Kuṟangal dialect as constituting the North-Eastern Paṣai dialect group (but note the similarities between the Čugani Šumāšt dialect and the Čalās dialect as recorded by Dvoryankov [1964]; cf. Morgenstierne 1967: 336).

Keiser also notes some tribal groupings which may be superimposed on Morgenstierne's list of South-Eastern Paṣai dialects. Members of the Sum tribe inhabit the Sāw and Nurlām Valleys in Laghmān and the Oygal Valley off Darra-i Nūr, and they apparently speak a language with only minor dialect variation. Keiser reports that the Sum call their language *Šale* (1971: 6), which may be compared to Morgenstierne's *Šārī/Šārī* (1967: 21, 332). The *Damenē* tribe inhabits the upper Kulmān Valley on the Laghmān side, the villages of Bar Koṭ (Safar Qala) and Jāšagal in the lower Oygal basin, and the Gamberay tract between Laghmān and Darra-i Nūr (cf. Tanner 1881). Keiser states that the inhabitants of ten villages (including Bamba Koṭ, Lamaṭek, and Sutan) in upper Darra-i Nūr form a single tribal group with their own dialect, while the residents of the lower portion of Darra-i Nūr are a separate and perhaps nontribally organized people. Morgenstierne notes that the Oygal and Nurlām dialects have features in common (1967: 22), and it is probable that a single Sum (*Šale* or *Šārī*) dialect exists. The distribution of the remainder of the dialects in Morgenstierne's South-Eastern Group is not entirely clear, but if the correlation between indigenous political (tribal and subtribal) groupings and dialect groupings which is found throughout the neighboring region is taken as an indicator, we may expect to find the existence of a *Damenē* dialect, an *Upper Darra-i Nūr* dialect, and a *Lower Darra-i Nūr* dialect when more data are available.

An updated version of Morgenstierne's 1963 classification, incorporating the preceding remarks on dialect distributions, appears in Table 1. For mnemonic convenience I have named the various linguistic groups, which in Morgenstierne's outline are simply numbered.

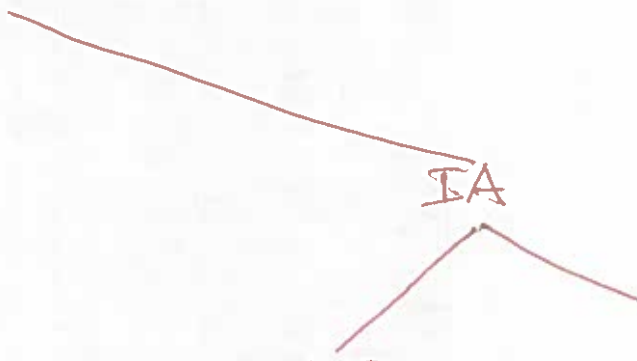
to Morgenstierne's North-Eastern Group (cf. Morgenstierne 1967: 24, fn. 6).

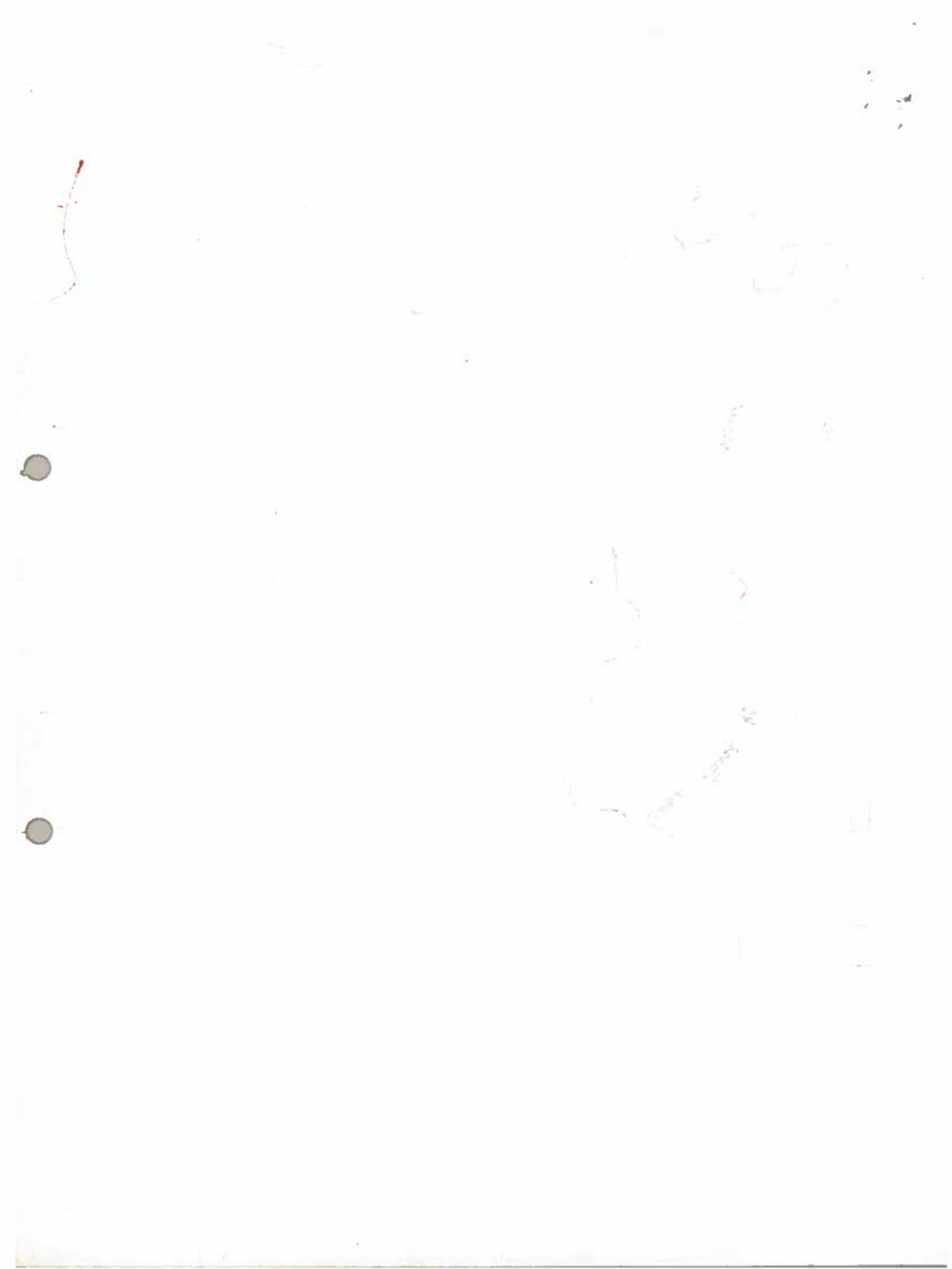
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exist¹⁷ and *Hardie Langneyes*

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Table 1

Nūristānī and Dardic Languages
(after Morgenstierne 1967)Nūristānī (Kāfir, Kāfirī) Branch of Indo-Iranian

1. Kātī (Bālgāhī)
Kātāvīrī
Western Kātāvīrī, including the dialects of Rān-
gāl, Rulām, Kīvī, and Pōfuk
Eastern Kātāvīrī
Kamvīrī
Kamvīrī proper
Lamōrīvīrī
Mumvīrī
2. Wasi-veri (Prasun, Pārūnī, Wasi-veri, Veron)
Upper Wasi-veri
Central Wasi-veri
Lower Wasi-veri
3. Kalāṣa-alā (Waigālī, Wal-alā)
Varjan-alā, including the dialects of Vaygal, Zōn-
čigal, Jāmač, Amešdeš, and Veligal
Čima-Niše-y-alā, including the dialects of Čiml and
Niše-y-grām
4. Tregūmī (Gambīrī), including the dialects of Gambīr
and Kačār
5. Aškun (Ashkun, Ashkund)
Aškūru-vēri, including the dialects of Kolatā, Titin,
and Bajaygāl
Sōru-vīrī (Wāmāi)
Gramsōṣa-vīrī

Dardic Languages (Northwest Indo-Aryan)Čitrāl Group

6. Khawār (Čitrālī, Čitrārī, Arnyā, Arniyā, Qāšqārī)
7. Kalāṣa
Northern Kalāṣa
Southern Kalāṣa

Kunar Group

8. Damēli
9. Gawar-bāti (Narisāti, Narsāti)
10. Nangalāmi-Grangālī (Ningalāmī)
11. Šumšī
12. Pašai (Lagāmānī, Dēhgānī, Degano)
Northeastern Group
Čuganī dialect
Čalās-Kuṣangal dialect
Southeastern Group
Šum dialect (Šab, Šāri)
Damenē dialect
Upper Darra-i Nūr dialect
Lower Darra-i Nūr dialect
miscellaneous dialects (v. Morgenstierne 1957:
21-22)

Southwestern Group (v. Morgenstierne 1967: 14-16)

Northwestern Group (v. Morgenstierne 1967: 16-19)

Central (Kōhistanī) Group

13. Baškariḱ (Gawri, Gārwi, Dīri)
14. Torwālī
15. Maiyā, including the dialects Kanyawālī, Dubēri,
Čilis, Gowro, etc.
16. Woṣapūri-Kuṭārqaṭālī
17. Tirālī

Šinā Group

18. Šinā proper, including the dialects Gilgiti, Astōri,
Čilāsī, Gurēzī, Brōkpā of Drās, and Brōkpā of Dah
and Hanū
19. Phalūṣa (Palūla, Palola, Duggarik)
Phalūṣa proper (Ašrēti, Biyōrī)
Sāwi
20. Dūmākī
21. Kašmīrī (Kōšur)
Kašmīrī proper
Kašāwārī
miscellaneous transitional dialects

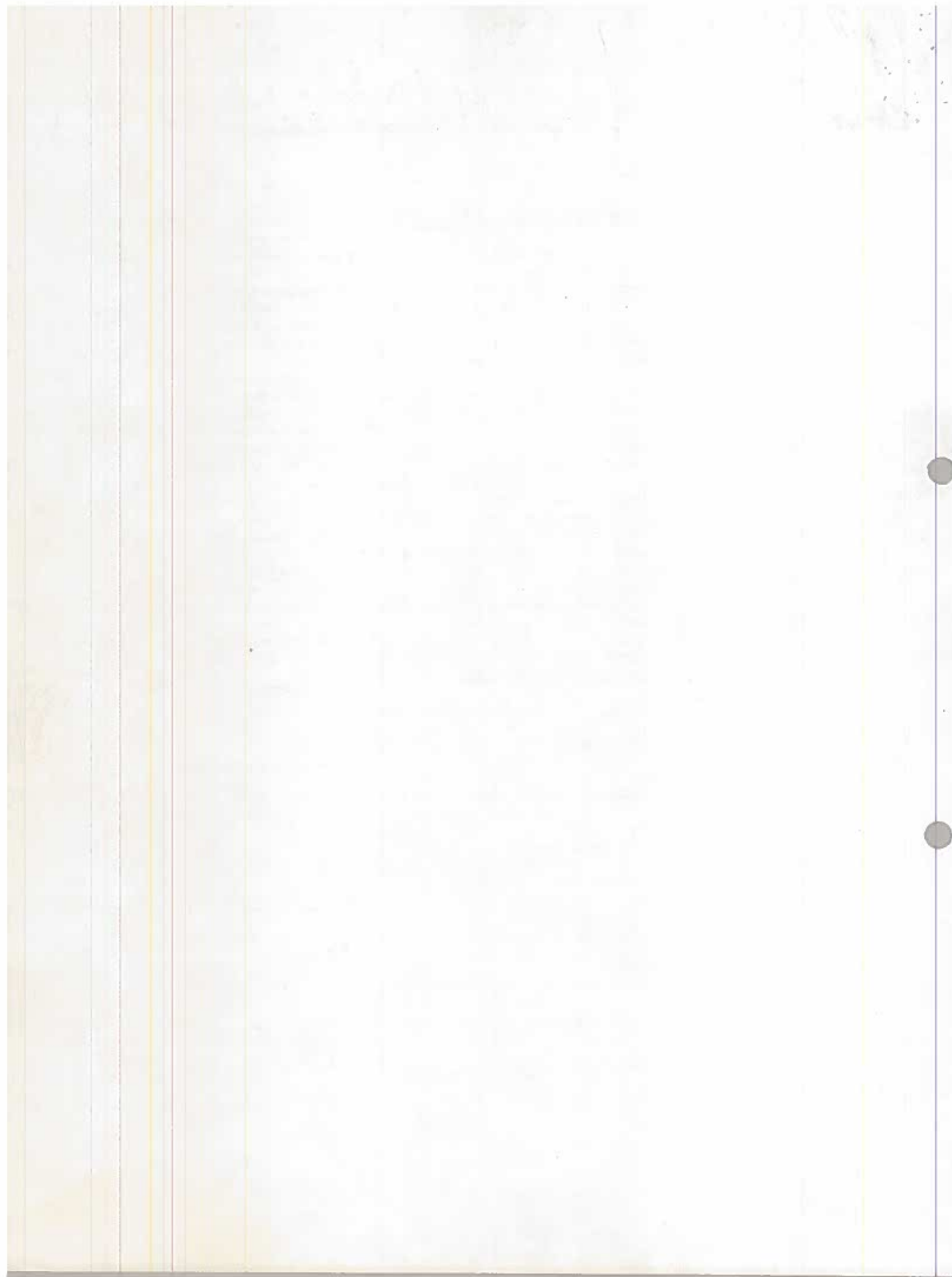
The two surveys under consideration may now be reviewed in light of the preceding account. The Voegelin's article will be dealt with first, since it appears to be the source of some of the errors in Kachru's survey.¹² Voegelin and Voegelin state that the division of Dardic into three major groups (Western Dardic or Kāfir, Central Dardic containing only Khawār, and Eastern Dardic or Dard proper) is "given by all investigators" (1965: 235). This classification is in fact the

¹² Questionable points of the "Dardic sound system" (pp. 291-294) are not discussed here. The reader is advised to consult the sources listed by the Voegelins, and to note the phonological systems of the languages presented.

one proposed by Grierson (1919: 2), and his "Kāfir" group has never been accepted by Morgenstierne (v. Morgenstierne 1926: 50 ff. for an early argument against including the Nūristānī languages with Kalāṣa, Gawar-bāti, etc.). The available linguistic evidence surely shows that Grierson's classification must be discarded as untenable.

The most conspicuous error in the Voegelins' list of languages is the statement establishing "Prasun" as a language distinct from "Wasi-veri,"

which are presented as separate languages; if Prasun is a language, it is a dialect of Wasi-veri, and not a separate language. The languages of the list are: Kātī, Wasi-veri, Kalāṣa, Khawār, and the languages of the Kunar Group.





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"Prasun" and "Wasi-veri" refer to the same language (Wasi-weri), which is spoken entirely within Afghanistan in the villages listed in the above quotation (see above and Map 1). The fact that Morgenstierne's data were gathered from informants in Čitrāl hardly implies that the entire body of Wasi-weri speakers resides there (Morgenstierne 1932: 65).

Another serious error is the listing of "Waigali and Zhonjigali" as a separate group of languages (p. 288). "Waigali" and "Wai-ala" (p. 286) are the same language, which has been called Kalasha-ala in the present paper. "Zhonjigali" refers to the Varjan dialect of the village of Zōnčigal (Arans) (cf. Morgenstierne 1954).

Likewise, the Voegelins list "Bashkarik" (p. 287) separately from the "Kohistani dialect" Gārwi (p. 290), but they are the same language. "Garwi" is the name used by Grierson (1919: 507 ff.), while Morgenstierne (1940), in accordance with Biddulph (1880), prefers "Bashkarik."

Damēli is a separate language markedly different from Phalūra, and the Voegelins' speculation that Damēli and Phalūra may be "divergent dialects of a single Dhangarik language" (p. 291) is wholly unfounded.

"Gujari," listed on p. 288, is not a Dardic language. In an earlier chapter (p. 258) the Voegelins follow Grierson in listing Gujarī as a dialect of Rājasthānī, which may be closer to the truth. Gujarī is spoken in pockets throughout much of the Dardic area, including some remote grazing grounds in eastern Nūristān.

No mention is made of Tregāmī, Nangalāmī, or Woṭapūri-Kaṭārqa-lāi (Morgenstierne 1952: 20 ff., 1950: 58 ff., Buddruss 1960). In their earlier chapter on Indic languages the Voegelins list Dumākī as an "unclassified gypsy dialect" (p. 276), rather than a Dardic language.

The Voegelins erroneously misplace the location of Šumāsṭī with respect to Gawar-bāṭī by stating that "Šumasht speakers live 60 miles further up the Kunar River on the Chitral frontier" (p. 287). This is a curious distortion of Morgenstierne's statement regarding the location, relative to Šumāsṭī, of the speakers of Gawar-bāṭī (Morgenstierne 1945: 241). See Map 1 for the proper location of Šumāsṭī.

"Shekhani," "Badimuk," and "Bargromatal" are listed as dialects of Kati (p. 286). "Shekhani" is the dialect of Badrāyāl noted above. The dialects of "Badimuk" (Kafāvirī *Badamūk*) and Bīr-

Bāṭāl are the same and belong under Eastern Kāṭīrī.

Kalasha (not to be confused with Kalasha-ala) is spoken in the valleys of Rumbur, Bumboret, and Bīr off the Čitrāl River to the north of the town of Droš, in addition to the area mentioned on p. 286 (Morgenstierne 1965).

The Voegelins' "Ashret" (p. 290) must refer to the dialect of Phalūra spoken in the village of Ašret in southern Čitrāl, which is the basis of Morgenstierne 1941, rather than the dialect spoken in the village of a similar name in Dīr Kōhistān (cf. the entry *Ač(h)a'rēt* in Morgenstierne 1941: 52). The language spoken in Sāw (Sau) is a dialect of Phalūra (Morgenstierne 1941: 9, Buddruss 1967).

The list of Pašai dialects given by the Voegelins (p. 287) is incomplete. For a fuller account of the Pašai dialects see Morgenstierne 1967.

The Voegelins do not indicate in detail the sources for their classification. Had they done so, they might have avoided the inconsistencies of their account.

Kachru presents a list of languages in which he uncritically copies the major errors of the Voegelins' 1965 list, while adding a few of his own (1969: 285-86). Thus he follows the Voegelins in listing "Prasun" separately from "Wasi-veri," "Waigali" and "Zhonjigali" separately from "Wai-ala," and "Bashkarik" separately from "Kohistani." Gujarī is again erroneously listed as a Dardic language. Kachru compounds these errors by listing "Waigali" and "Zhonjigali" as separate languages rather than as dialects of a single language and by listing "Chitralī," "Chatrārī," and "Arniyā" as separate languages rather than as alternate names for the single Khowār language (p. 286). He introduces further complications by mis-copying the "Kalāshā-Pašai" subgroup of Grierson's Kāfir Group as "Kalasha-Pasha" (p. 285) and listing it as a language coordinate with the others in the "Kafir-group," rather than as the heading for a subgroup (cf. Grierson 1919: 2). The dialectal analysis of "Kohistani" is not Grierson's, as Kachru implies from his citation "Grierson, 1919, pp. 507 ff." (p. 286). The languages Gārwi, Tōrwālī, and Maiyā, which Grierson lists under his "Kōhistānī" (1919: 507 ff.) are omitted from Kachru's list (pp. 285-86), as are Damēli, Phalūra, Šumāsṭī, Nangalāmī, Woṭapūri-Kaṭārqa-lāi, and Dumākī, although Kachru refers to several of these in his bibliography and on p. 288. Gawar-bāṭī is misspelled on pages 285 and 288. It is difficult to understand why Kachru claims

Kalasha

that the classification he presents "has been maintained since the earlier work of Grierson" (p. 285, fn. 3), when the quotations from Morgenstierne and Emeneau given on pp. 286-287 clearly indicate that at least Morgenstierne, Bloch, and Burrow do not subscribe to Grierson's classification. Indeed, which modern scholars with an intimate knowledge of the existing data on the Dardic and Nūristānī languages have maintained Grierson's 1919 classification?

Several minor errors in Kachru's bibliography and footnotes further detract from his presentation. Thus in the bibliography Colonel John Davidson's "Notes on the Bāshgālī (Kāfir) Language" is entered under a nonexistent "Davidson, J. and B." (p. 302). Morgenstierne's articles on Phalūra and Damēli were published in 1941 and 1942, respectively, not in 1940 (p. 304) (although the monograph on Phalūra belongs to a 1940 series). His works on Pašai and Kalaṣa-alā have received superfluous pluralization; the correct titles are *The Pashai Language* and "The Waigali language" (pp. 304, 305). N. A. Dvoryankov has had his surname changed to "Ovorjankov" (p. 305), and the title of his article is a mis-copying of the erroneous listing in Edel'man's (1965) bibliography, rather than the correct "Predvaritel'noe soobshchenie o govoraх gornыkh tadzhikov Kunara (Afghanistan)." In footnote 5 (p. 285) we find "Viator Indicus" for "Indicus Viator." Hamp's 1966 article on Kalaṣa-alā can hardly be a source for Kalaṣa of Čitrāl (fn. 9, p. 285), nor do Morgenstierne's works on Phalūra and Damēli (with erroneous publication dates) and Davidson's monograph on Kati have any conceivable relevance to the "Chatrārī" (Khowār) language (fn. 19, p. 286).

Although our knowledge of the Dardic and Nūristānī languages is certainly in a retarded state, the situation is not so bad as to justify Kachru's overstatement that "it is not possible to use any sophisticated or rigorous criteria for separating the languages and/or dialects in this family" (p. 286). Nor is his statement that Grierson's and Morgenstierne's works "continue to be the only available analyses of the Dardic group" (p. 286) compatible with his bibliographical references to Buddruss's field research on Pašai, Malyā, and Woḷapūri-Kaḷārqaḷāi (p. 304). There is enough data in the writings of Morgenstierne and Buddruss to enable us to see the outlines of the historical relationships between these languages, and we are going to examine the material closely.

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ABBREVIATIONS:

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NTS Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap, Oslo.

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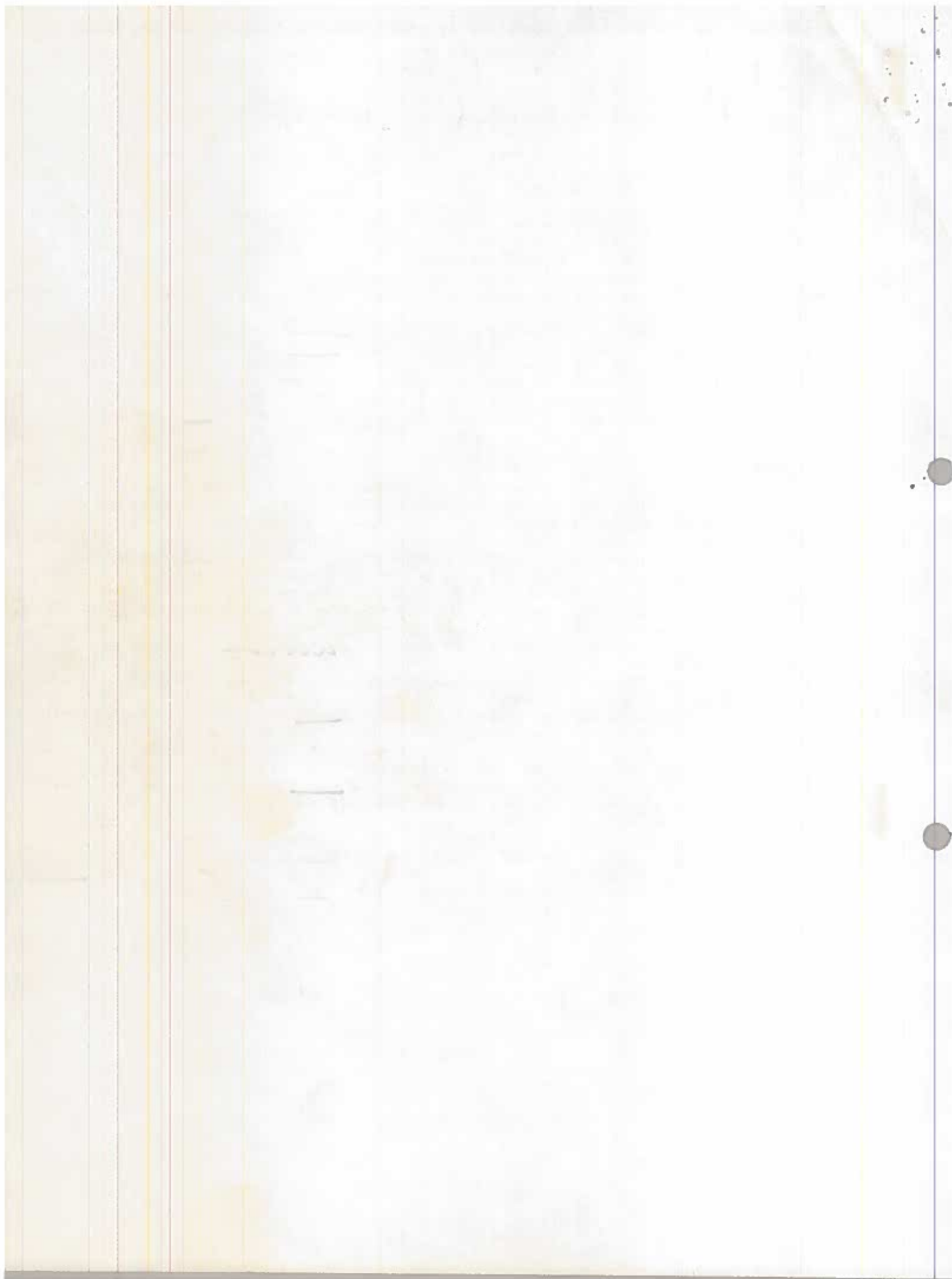
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